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Flash Back

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Washington County Historical Society

118 East Dickson Street, Fayetteville, AR 72701

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FLASHBACK

Washington County Historical Society

Preserving the Past for the Future

Volume 55 **Summer 2005** **Number 3**

CONTENTS

WASHINGTON COUNTY CANNERIES: THEN AND NOW
T. E. Morelock 103

FAYETTEVILLE'S GROCERY STORES: 1830–2005
Denele Campbell 111

AN ATTORNEY'S LETTER FOR THE TIME CAPSULE
W. W. "Bill" Bassett 141

Cover: The boiler of Nolen Cannery at Morrow (Courtesy Teddy Morelock).

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WASHINGTON COUNTY CANNERIES THEN AND NOW

T. E. MORELOCK

November 15, 2002 marked the end of an era in Washington County. On that day the Allen Canning vegetable processing plant in Springdale closed. For well over one hundred years at least one and sometimes of dozens (Table 1) of fruit and/or vegetable canning plants operated in Washington County. It is ironic that both the first and last canning factories in the county were located in Springdale. At one time or another almost every town or community in the county had at least one cannery. (Tables 2 and 3).

Millard Berry, E.T. Caudle, W. H. Searcy and others organized the Springdale Canning Company on East Emma Avenue in 1886. Millard Berry also served as justice of the peace and mayor of Springdale, and in 1900 was elected Washington County judge.

Teddy Morelock was born in Washington County. He graduated from Greenland High School and received his BS and MS in Horticulture from the University of Arkansas. He is presently a professor of horticulture at the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

Washington County Canneries By Year (Table 1)

1909–3	1921–15	1933–41	1945–32
1910–4	1922–13	1934–42	1946–38
1911–6	1923–13	1935–37	1947–43
1912–5	1924–17	1936–33	1948–38
1913–6	1925–25	1937–38	1949–31
1914–7	1926–28	1938–35	1950–26
1915–6	1927–26	1939–32	1951–20
1916–6	1928–37	1940–30	1952–20
1917–10	1929–34	1941–23	1953–15
1918–15	1930–34	1942–26	1954–13
1919–17	1931–35	1943–36	1955–12
1920–15	1932–40	1944–24	1956–11
			1957–5

Source: National Canner Association Directories 1909–1957

Washington County Canneries 1947 (Table 2)

Company	Location
1. O. L. Andrews and Son Canning Co.	Fayetteville
2. Appleby Canning Co.	Strickler
3. B. and H. Canning Co.	Wheeler
4. Baron Canning Co.	Cane Hill, Dutch Mills
5. C. M. Bell and Son	Elkins
6. Bishop Canning Co.	Lincoln
7. Cain Canning Co.	Springdale
8. O. L. Courtney Canning Co.	Lincoln
9. Crow Canning Co.	Fayetteville
10. Davis Canning Co.	Summers
11. R. E. Dunagan Canning Co.	Morrow
12. Durham Canning Co.	Durham
13. Greathouse Canning Co.	Fayetteville
14. H. and W. Canning Co., Inc.	Fayetteville
15. A. A. Hamblin Canning Co.	Farmington
16. Hargis Canneries, Inc.	Durham
17. Harris Canning Co.	Johnson
18. John M. Hilton	Summers
19. E. P. Hite and Son	Morrow
20. Jackson Canning Co.	Black Oak

21. Johnson and Steele Canning Co.	Spring Valley, West Fork
22. O. G. Landelius Canning Co.	Winslow
23. Lincoln Coop. Marketing Assn.	Lincoln
24. Litteral Canning Co.	Fayetteville
25. McCormick Canning Co.	Evansville
26. McCormick Canning Co.	Lincoln
27. Onda Canning Co.	West Fork
28. C. O. Pardue and Son	Northeast
29. Prairie Grove Canning Co.	Fayetteville
30. Rogers Canning Co.	Fayetteville
31. Round Mountain Canning Co.	Round Mountain
32. Smith Canning Co.	Cincinnati, Fayetteville, Lincoln, Mayfield, Winslow
33. Springdale Canning Co.	Springdale
34. Thomas and Drake Canning Co.	Elm Springs
35. Tontitown Canning Co.	Tontitown
36. Walker and Son Canning Co.	Fayetteville
37. Watson and Drake Canning Co.	Elkins

Source: National Canners Association 1947 Directory

WASHINGTON COUNTY CANNERIES

Towns reported to have canneries by National Canneries Directory (Table 3)

1. Arnett	16. Fayetteville	31. Spring Valley
2. Black Oak	17. Goshen	32. Steele
3. Brush Creek	18. Harris	33. Stony Point
4. Cane Hill	19. Hogeye	34. Strickler
5. Cato Springs	20. Johnson	35. Summers
6. Cincinnati	21. Lincoln	36. Sunset
7. Clear Creek	22. Litteral	37. Tontitown
8. Cove Creek	23. Mayfield	38. Walnut Grove
9. Durham	24. Morrow	39. Wedington
10. Dutch Mills	25. Northeast	40. Wheeler
11. Elkins	26. Prairie Grove	41. West Fork
12. Elm Springs	27. Round Mountain	42. Winslow
13. Evangel	28. Savoy	43. Woolsey
14. Evansville	29. Springdale	44. Wyola
15. Farmington	30. Spring Creek	

Source: National Canners Directories 1907–1957

While the industry canned a rather wide range of fruits and vegetables (see Table 4), at least half canned only one product—tomatoes. The typical small cannery packed only tomatoes while employing twenty to thirty people in the community, many of whom were wives and daughters of farmers who grew these tomatoes. Some canning factories were much larger and canned a wider range of products (see Table 4). For example, in 1914

Fayetteville Canning Company, run by T.U. Jackson, canned tomatoes. But they also canned green beans, apples, peaches, and berries with a work force of two hundred when running at full capacity.

Products Canned by Washington County Canneries
(Table 4)

Vegetables	Fruits	Drinks/Juice
tomatoes	apples	apple juice
green beans	peaches	grape juice
wax beans	blackberries	grapeade
spinach	boysenberries	lemonade
mustard greens	youngberries	orangeade
turnip greens	strawberries	
collards	huckleberries	
kale	grapes	
polk salad		
potatoes		
sweet potatoes		
southernpeas		
dry beans		
hominy		
beets		

Source: National Canners Directories 1909–1957

The exact number of canneries that existed in Washington County is difficult to determine and the exact number will

probably never be known. Some early canneries existed ninety to one hundred years ago and may have operated for only one or two years. Many canneries frequently changed owners, and plants at the same physical location may have had several names. With these facts in mind, the National Canneries Directory listed 211different canneries in Washington County between 1909 and 1965. It is obvious that this number includes facilities that changed hands numerous times. Also, some canneries had Fayetteville mailing addresses or offices, even though the factory was located in another county. However, it is clear that the actual number of individual canneries sites in Washington County probably ranges from 80 to 100.

While most of the canneries remained rather small, a few operations increased in both size and number. Fayetteville Canning Company started with one plant in Fayetteville in 1913 but by 1917 had added plants in Litteral, Goshen, Elkins, and Cato Springs. Appleby Brothers' first plant was located in Fayetteville in 1910.By 1929 they had expanded their operation into Madison and Benton Counties and boasted a total of nine plants in Fayetteville, West Fork, Hiwasse, Rogers, Centerton, Decatur, Delaney, Goshen, and Winslow. In 1944 Hargis Canneries, headquartered in Fayetteville, operated canneries in Elkins, Durham, and Elm Springs and also operated Madison County plants in Huntsville, Wesley, Japton, Clifty, Marble, Whitener, and Delaney, as well as a Benton County plant at Best.

Steele Canning became the largest of the Washington County Canneries. Started by Joe Steele with only tomatoes on the family farm in the Steele community south of Tontitown , it grew to be a major regional canning company with over one hundred products and sixteen plants located in Northwest Arkansas and Eastern Oklahoma. The company was sold to Pioneer Foods in 1972. The Steele family remained in the canning business until 1983, operating as Forest Park Canning with plants at Johnson

and Prairie Grove. The old Steele plant in Springdale was purchased from Pioneer Foods by Allen Canning Company of Siloam Springs in 1978, along with the Popeye label, but this plant was closed November 15, 2002.

Even though there is not a canning plant operating in Washington County at the present time, the vegetable processing industry is still a valuable asset. The Allen Canning Company, whose corporate headquarters is in Siloam Springs, still operates a large modern warehouse in Springdale, located next door to the A.Q. Chicken House restaurant. It can be identified by the Popeye statue on North Thompson at the site of the old Steele warehouse and is where the Cain Canning Factory was located. Not only does the Allen Company supply jobs at the Springdale warehouse, but many Washington County residents work at their corporate headquarters as well as their processing plant near Siloam Springs. Also, Washington County farmers grow raw products for their processing plants at Siloam Springs, Alma, and Van Buren. In fact, the Allen Company evolved from the processing industry that was centered in Washington and Benton County. The Allen Canning Company is a major vegetable canner which has processing plants in Arkansas and several other states and sells product throughout the United States. The vegetable processing industry that started in Washington County over one hundred years ago is still a strong, viable industry today.

FAYETTEVILLE'S GROCERY STORES 1830–2005

DENELE CAMPBELL

Before John William Campbell moved his family to Fayetteville, Arkansas, from White County in 1918, his small store near Roosevelt sold everything from horse collars to brown sugar. He and his family lived next to the store, first in a log cabin and then in a small frame house he built. Once in Fayetteville forty-year-old John William opened a store at the southeast corner of Rock and Mill to sell groceries and secondhand goods. He traded, among other things, guns, horses, automobiles, and parcels of land. It is believed that throughout the next thirteen years, in spite of Prohibition, a suitably persuasive individual might find John William knowledgeable as to the whereabouts of bootleg whiskey. With the profits of his enterprise John William raised a family of seven children in a comfortable home and provided college education for those who pursued it. In spite of only a fourth grade education, his skill with numbers and a natural talent for trade served him well in

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Denele Pitts Campbell was married to J. C. Campbell's son Steve and heard many stories about their grocery business on Huntsville Road. She wishes to thank the staffs at the Fayetteville Public Library, University of Arkansas Library Special Collections, Washington County Archives, and Shiloh Museum of Ozark History for their generous assistance in her research. She is especially indebted to Jeannine Campbell Presley for sharing information about her father and mother, Evertt and Evalee Campbell, and their grocery businesses in Fayetteville.

building a viable, rewarding career. The talents of his chosen vocation were passed on to his children; of four sons, three would establish grocery stores in Fayetteville. For a short time one daughter and her husband would also own and operate a Fayetteville grocery, while a second daughter and her husband would clerk in another.

From the time of the first settlements, Americans had depended on the storekeeper to provide everything they might need. Rural grocers generally sprang from the ranks of boys "who didn't have a farm to work on—preachers', lawyers', and doctors' sons," according to one historian (Gerald Carson, *The Old Country Store*, 1954, p. 34). John William fit this mold, for his storekeeping benefitted from what he had learned in childhood travels as his father preached in eastern Arkansas and western Tennessee. John William knew what goods people needed and had ideas of how to obtain and sell such goods in the most profitable manner. His store modeled the rural standard. Post offices were commonly located in the store, and the storekeeper frequently served as a kind of banker of valued goods and/or money between third parties. Fresh produce from the family farm could be traded for nails or tobacco. Credit accounts allowed for the spring purchase of flour or salt to be charged against the expected proceeds of a fall harvest. Laborious wagon journeys or river transport brought barrels of goods such as sorghum or crackers, which were then rolled into the store to be parceled out according to the customer's need. Such methods did not necessarily incorporate sanitation or standardized pricing. In the late 1800s, when packaging became available, as well as faster transportation, the railroad, automobile, manufacturing, and the growth of urban America. brought changes to the grocery trade. Much of this change occurred between the 1880s and the 1920s, during the peak of John William's business years.

FAYETTEVILLE'S GROCERY STORES

Fayetteville's earliest grocery opened in 1830 just two years after the first settlers arrived. Prior to this, settlers made laborious wagon journeys to Cane Hill or Evansville to obtain necessary goods. The first store, under the ownership of John Nye, was on the west side of the Square, although at the time it was simply alongside the road to "Evansville country." According to a 1993 article in the *Northwest Arkansas Times*, "Nye's store was built of black oak poles. It had no floor. The building was covered with boards riven from a great oak felled just below the spring south of what was later the Frisco train depot on Dickson Street." With the passing of another ten years, Fayetteville became home to "six dry-goods stores, three blacksmiths, two wagon shops, a saddlery shop," and a cabinetmaker."In 1845, the first beef market opened and sold steak at three cents and roasts at two-and-a-half cents a pound. According to Kent Brown's history, salesmen stayed at the Byrnside House or the City Hotel and cleared the dust from their throats at William McGarrah's saloon at the back of his grocery store.

Within another ten years, newspaper advertisements hawked local wares. Ads in the 1853–55 editions of Fayetteville's *South-West Independent* provided an early record of the local grocery trade. Groceries were but one line of stock among the wide array of items made available by merchants of those times. Liles & Thomas, located on the west side of the Fayetteville Square, offered "the best family supplies—the sourest Vinegar, the sweetest Molasses, the purest Wines and Liquors, the pleasantest Cigars, the cleanest Rice; in fact, the best of everything." L. B. Cunningham "did business in a two-story frame house on the corner." Stirman & Dickson "sold goods in a brick store-house." W. M. Black took over the place of Bishop & Boyer, and W. A. Watson managed a store for Baker & Bishop of Van Buren (Van Hoose). J. C. Hodges owned

and operated Fayetteville Family Supply Store (west side next to Washington House).

Following the Civil War, pages of the *Fayetteville Weekly Democrat* ran a few ads such as G. W. Little's in 1869: "Beef! Beef! Beef! Fresh beef every morning at the new Market house, west side of the public square in the McCombs building. I will sell beef cheaper than any market house in the city." But the community's larger merchants hosted the bulk of grocery advertisement, which included notice of liquor, confectioneries, nails, rope, iron, yarn, boots, and drugs, among other things. Other businesses selling edibles included Blackwell and Bros. (northwest corner of Square) and W. L. Nolen (a saloon on the north side of Main Street, third door from the Square).

In the 1870s grocery trade involved W. M. Bozarth, Baum & Brothers, Robards & Morrison (north side, Trott's old stand), P. McGreevy (north side), A. C. Bowers (confectionery), C. Jackson & Co. (opened in 1872 in the "new brick," west side; succeeded by Evers & Jackson), John L. Blakely (south side), and George P. Horton (new brick, west side – advertising that "J. C. Massie will be found").

In the 1880 *Fayetteville Democrat*, advertisements by T. J. Rogers promoted his business as wholesale and retail dealer in "staple and fancy groceries" housed "in the Jackson Brick, West Side the Public Square." Among the goods available at T. J. Rogers were tea, dry salt meats, crackers, and canned goods. C. A. Mulholland took over this enterprise by 1881 and faced a new competitor, Gray & Tunstill. They advertised a "complete line of groceries of every description" at their "first-class grocery establishment in the new McIlroy Building, East Side Public Square."

The 1882 opening of the railroad through Fayetteville brought new merchants and shoppers. That year M. W. Dorman advertised as "dealer in Groceries, Provisions, Canned Goods, Confectioneries, Cigars, Tobacco," with "Fresh Bread, Cakes,

and Pies always on hand." Customers were advised to "give me a call at the Rock House on Center Street, three doors east the Post-office." Mr. Dorman's enterprise also included "Marble Works, Bakery, and Restaurant," with "all work in this line [of marble] done with neatness and dispatch and as cheap as at any other works west of St. Louis." Advertisement by the City Meat Market under Reuben Carte, Proprietor, offered "the choicest meats the country affords." Mulholland & White, Northeast Corner Public Square (Van Hoose Corner), announced the formation of their partnership to deal in staple and fancy groceries and solicited trade in "wheat, hides, furs, dried fruit, and country produce of all kinds." Moulton & Nelson sold goods at Dr. Welsh's new brick building one door west of Van Winkle house, and included the Parlor Grocery. Another 1880s grocery was Wilson and Dickson. L. B. Lantrip opened his confectionery concern in 1884 and by 1888 had joined with A. H. Miller in a grocery establishment.

In Fayetteville's listings in R. L. Polk and Co.'s *Arkansas State Gazetteer and Business Directory* of 1884-5, there were three meat markets, four grocers, one confectioner, and one produce dealer. These were not complete listings, however, since some of the firms advertising in the local newspaper of those years were not among those named in the *Gazetteer.* Subsequent *Gazetteer* editions reflected the growth of the region over the next twenty years. In 1888-9, there were two meat markets and three confectioners along with ten grocers. In 1892-3, there were two meat markets, four confectioners, and seventeen grocers. In the 1898-9 edition, there were three meat markets, two confectioners, and fifteen grocers, and about this time Polk began publishing a business directory just for Fayetteville.

At the turn of the century as John William Campbell built his rural grocery business in east Arkansas, Fayetteville hosted a population of six thousand with thirty-four establishments selling groceries, meat, produce, confections, and similar goods

(one market per 176 people). The growth of the trade reflected the growth of the city population. Virtually all citizens lacked motorized transportation and city dwellers usually walked to grocery stores. Grocery markets were close enough to most homes that a child might be sent running for a last-minute purchase of baking powder. In 1904 downtown purveyors of grocery stock, fresh produce, or meat concentrated along the south side of the Square, including Simpson, Ladd & Co. produce at 7 E. Mountain, J. S. Lackey Produce Co. at 11 E. Mountain, Lackey groceries at 15 E. Mountain, C. C. Conner at 1-3 W. Mountain, Lantrip & Miller at 7 W. Mountain, Ashby Grocer Co. at 9 W. Mountain, McHenry & Bryan Produce at 110-112 W. Mountain, and Fayetteville Produce Co. at 115 W. Mountain. On the north side of the Square in 1900, D. M. Harbison sold meat at 4 E. Center as did G. W. Hurst at 12 W. Center and J. F. Johnson at 18 N. Block. Sneed Brothers manufactured and retailed candy at 3 S. Block. Other confectioneries selling candies, cigars, and newspapers at the Square were George H. Stapp at 10 W. Center and E. Wilson at 6. E. Center. Gilbreath & Taylor sold groceries at 8 E. Center, while A. C. Hamilton & Co. conducted their grocery trade at 112-114 W. Center.

Twenty years later, about the time of John William's arrival, grocery trade at the Square had consolidated to a smaller number of businesses. J. C. Reese was selling groceries at 3 E. Mountain and A. H. Miller remained at 7 W. Mountain, where he sold groceries and wholesaled for Fayetteville Poultry & Eggs. He also had a market, Miller & Son, around the corner at 180 E. Rock Street. The other Mountain Street markets were gone. A new grocer, H. L. Harris, was open for business on the east side of the Square at 18 S. East. Moore Cash Grocery had opened at 6 E. Center, advertising as "The Busy Store – groceries, flour and feed." Gilbreath & Taylor's old location at 8 E. Center had become Fuller's Sanitary Meat Market (1920 ad:

"We operate our own cold storage.") and Long's Meat Market had opened at 14 E. Center (ad: "Handles the Best of Fresh and Cured Meats at all Times. Buyers and Shippers of Live Stock.") "A E F" Confectionery had opened for business at 17 N. Block with "homemade candy and cream daily. All kinds of sweets." T. J. Boyd was selling groceries at 123 W. Center. Smelser & Eason provided flour and feed at 119 W. Center, competing with the flour and feed sales of Farmer's Exchange at 15 N. Block. Goddard Grocer Company, a wholesaler, advertised: "We stand behind 'Marine Club,' 'Festal Hall,' 'Sweet Home' brands of pure food. 'Sugar Loaf' fancy canned vegetables when you want the best." On the west side of the Square, C. O. Hansard sold "groceries, glassware, and queensware."

Due to its proximity to the University as well as the railroad, Dickson Street served as its own center of commerce in the flow of Fayetteville's business. In 1904 Lester & Son grocery was located at 316 W. Dickson, McCormick & Son meat market at 320 W. Dickson, McClanahan & Williams grocery at 402 W. Dickson, W. E. Dowell meat market at 408 W. Dickson, William Lilly confectioners at 414 W. Dickson, Bates Brothers groceries at 430 W. Dickson, and Lewis & Sharp grocers at 521 W. Dickson. At the corner of West and Meadow, George H. Askew managed the Hammond Packing Company, which sold meat over the counter. Twenty years later on Dickson Street, Star Grocery had replaced Lester & Son at 316 W. Dickson and next door was the new City Bakery, John W. Seamster proprietor of the wholesale and retail enterprise. Their city directory ad states: "We specialize in cakes and cream bread." McCormick & Son was gone, as was McClanahan & Williams, but across the street J. F. Winchester had opened his new grocery at 401 W. Dickson. E. C. Gollaher sold groceries at 414 W. Dickson and Bates Brothers had expanded. A new concern at 520 W. Dickson, Champion News Company, sold Elmer's and Lowrey

Box Candies, magazines, stationery, newspapers, candies, tobacco, and cigars.

The several blocks bordering the railroad tracks at Dickson were the site of primarily wholesale food businesses. In 1900 along Gregg St., J. H. Stanley managed the Armour & Co. meat operation, while J. H. Williams sold flour and feed at the same location. Fayetteville Roller Mills and John P. Scott sold flour and feed at 335 N. West. By 1920, at the corner of West and Spring, McHenry & Bryan wholesaled and retailed poultry, eggs, and dairy products (ad: "Oldest poultry house in the state. Specialty—Poultry and Eggs in Car Lots. Phones Local 201; L. D. 1801"). One block west Jay Fulbright oversaw operations of Ozark Poultry and Egg Company. Meat packing, poultry/egg, dairy, produce, feed/flour milling, canning operations, and massive wholesale food shipping operations at the railway station occupied much of the available space between 1900 and 1950, including H. Rouw Co. produce, Champion fruit, Lewis & Sharp grocers, J. H. Williams flour and feed, Hammond Packing Company, McHenry & Bryan (poultry, eggs, dairy—probably became Ozark Poultry & Egg Co.), T. K. Taylor meats, Williams Produce, Campbell Soup, and Jerpe Dairy Products Corporation.

The neighborhoods north of the University had only one grocery in 1904, an establishment operated by Algy (also spelled Algie) Moore at Leverett near York (now Cleveland).

To the east of the Square in 1900, O. C. Cate offered provisions at 2 N. College. Dry & Welsh, Fayetteville Feed & Fuel at 14 N. College, and City Roller Mills and D. Portnell (miller) at Mill near Rock sold flour and feed. Nearby grocers were at 3 Mill St., a store operated by Cal H. Clark, and Freeman Brothers Grocery at Mill and Ash (Arthur J. and Harry E. Freeman). It was in this area that John William established his secondhand store in 1918. Local milling operations ceased by the 1920s, leaving J. W. Skelton grocery market at 222 Mill

(1920), Fred Brooks grocer at or near that location (1929), and Harvey L. Harris, Huntsville Road (1929).

South-lying establishments in 1904 included M. T. Crippen at 321 S. School, E. C. Harrison at 338 S. School, R. S. Black and B. Mitchell on Cemetery Road near Wall. This area from Prairie Street along Cemetery Road (now Government) was referred to as Quicktown after the Quick famiily, who had residences and businesses there circa 1880 to 1920. Bentley & Keeler sold groceries and other goods and hosted the Vale Post Office at Fayette Junction, Fayetteville's first suburb, which was not then within the city limits. (The market was at the corner of Vale and Cato Springs Road.) By 1920 considerable growth had taken place in south Fayetteville. There were H. C. King at 329 S. School, C. C. Rough at 400 S. School, and J. B. Clarke at 420 S. School. G. W. Barnes and Berl Dodd had stores on the Prairie Grove Road (now 6th Street), while Quicktown hosted D. E. Hammontree at 412 Cemetery (now called Government Avenue), Algie Moore (relocated from his first store at Leverett and York) at 425 Cemetery, and G. F. Puterbaugh at 428 Cemetery (now the location of a cabinet shop). Hammontree advertised "groceries, flour, feed, hardware, and general merchandise." The Fayette Junction area was served by H. F. Allen grocers at the Parksdale Addition (15th St. and Brooks) and Bland & Webb at Vale and Cato Springs Road.

Outlying grocers by the 1920s included four in the area north of the University campus: Square Deal Grocery, 634 N. Leverett, circa 1926; Reep's Grocery, 713 N. Leverett, established before 1920; J. W. Murphy, 804 N. Leverett, established before 1920; and Richard A. Jeffery, 812 N. Leverett, the store location along York established before 1904 by Algie Moore.

Out the north highway (US 71) at 900 N. College, Menges Cash Grocery had opened for business by 1929, and to the east

at the southeast intersection of Maple and Olive, R. L. Brown had opened a small grocery by 1920.

Back in White County, John William Campbell's enterprise had been the only show in town. Now in Fayetteville, he faced well established competition with sophisticated wholesaling operations. John William decided to include secondhand goods with his grocery stock and other items on the side. Only four secondhand stores were open for business in 1918 and like the soon-to-fade general stores and mercantiles, these establishments sold a wide variety of goods. At the time he added his east Arkansas family to the 7,482 people already living in Fayetteville (1920 census), forty groceries, confectioneries, meat markets, and produce markets had established operations in or near Fayetteville (one market per 187 people).

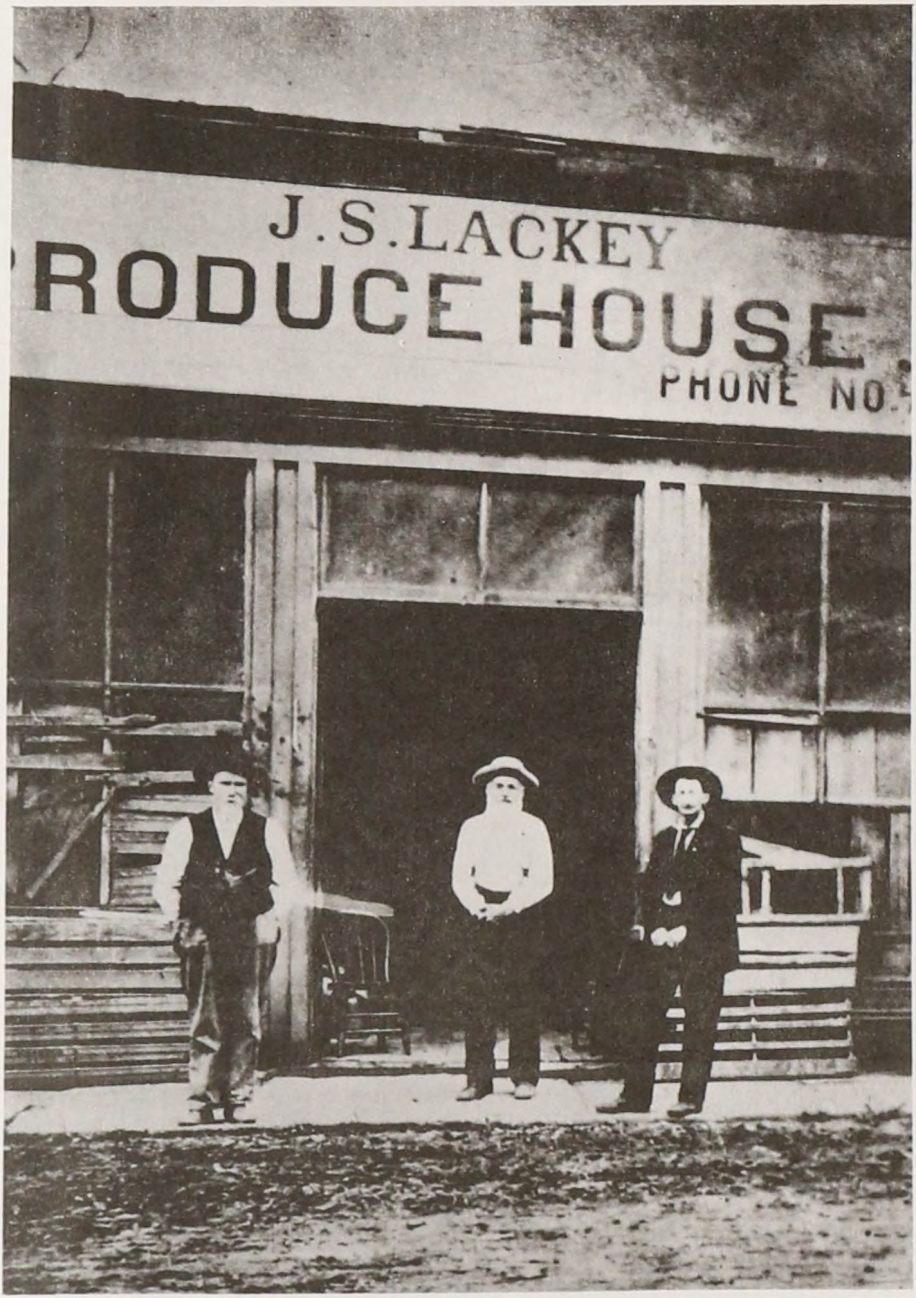
As the grocery trade changed and grew with Fayetteville, the Campbell family took advantage of business opportunities. By 1932 John William's oldest child, Zachariah, had become the proprietor of Campbell's grocery at 713 N. Leverett, taking over Reep's Grocery and installing his sister Ruth and her husband, Dick Bennett, as clerks. The second Campbell son, Evertt, and his wife, Evalee (McCurdy), had established three groceries: Campbell's Cash Grocery #1 at 108 W. Center, Campbell's Cash Grocery #2 at 337 S. School (enlarged from Ideal Grocery established before 1929), and Campbell's Cash Grocery #3 at 39 E. South (established before 1929 by Bayless G. Lewis). The third son, John Carl Campbell, and his new wife, Opal (Rutherford), had opened Rock Street Grocery at 223 S. Mill. The fifth child, Ruby, and her husband, Cecil R. Bennett, opened Snappy Service Grocery at 318 W. Dickson.

The Campbell siblings entered a challenging business climate during the Depression years. The same number of groceries—fourteen—operated around the Square as had been there in 1904, but another forty-five stores elsewhere in the

community serviced over 10,500 inhabitants. There was now one market per 178 people and with the increasingly available automobile, shoppers were more likely to shop around to compare prices. The 1935 scene included Cox's Market occupying a stretch of West Mountain that faced the Square from the south with Sav-It Grocery on the east side. Just to the south of the Square on East Avenue was Hammond Produce. Between the Square and the courthouse, City Grocery with proprietors T. J. Conner and H. K. Bogert held on at 6 E. Center advertising "Good Things to Eat. We Solicit a Share of Your Trade. On Smokey Row." H. G. Ward butchered fresh cuts at 8 E. Center, with neighbors Central Food Market at 30 E. Center and Economy Grocery at 32 E. Center. Along the north side of the Square were the new Fayetteville Piggly Wiggly and J. O. Mayes grocer, with Cowen Grocery at 27 N. Block. To the west of Campbell's Cash Grocery #1 at 108 W. Center was Guy T. Reed at 110 W. Center, the Farmers Market produce operation at 118 W. Center, and City Produce at 120 W. Center. Bob White Pastry Shop at the northeast corner of the Square offered "Delicious Pastries, Pies, Cakes, Rolls and Bread. Homemade Candy. House to House Delivery" (1939). Other groceries on streets near the Square were Alma Bohe's store at 123 W. Center and Miller & Son at 180 E. Rock. Steve's Place at 15 N. Block sold candies.

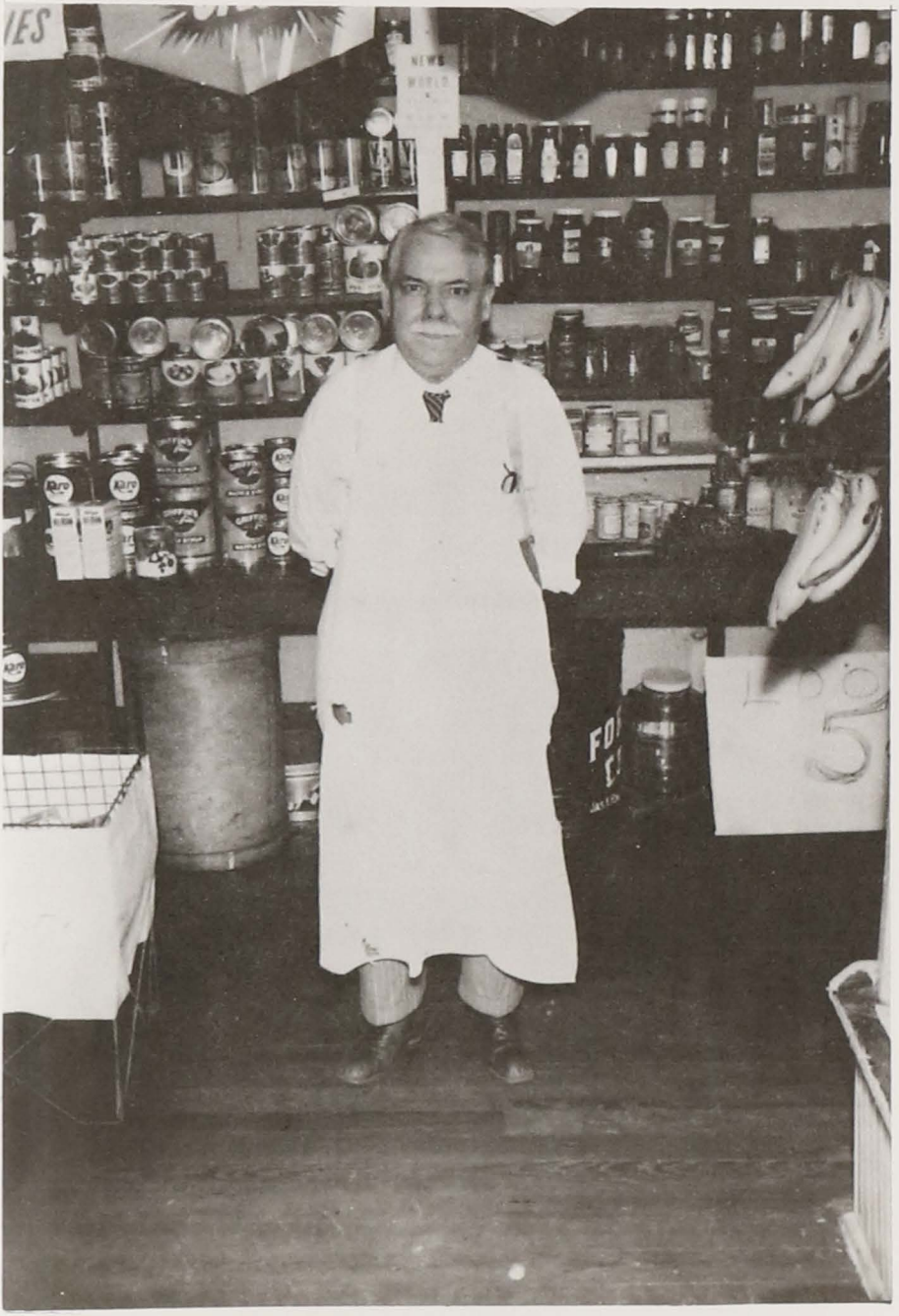
Cecil and Ruby Bennet's Snappy Service Grocery at 318 W. Dickson faced stiff competition for Dickson Street shoppers. Already there were the veteran grocers Bates Brothers, who had been selling groceries since before the turn of the century. King Food Market, started at 400 S. School by H. C. King, was now owned by Mrs. Olive D. King with Lloyd D. Cate as business partner at its new location on Dickson Street, first at 300 then 216 W. Dickson. Next door to Cecil and Ruby was Star Grocery at 316 W. Dickson, established before 1920. Winchester Cash Grocery & Market at 401 W. Dickson had also opened at least

C. C. Conner Grocery, 1890. At left is C. C. Connor; second from right, W. C. (Clint Conner; third from right, Poley Carlisle; others not identified (Courtesy Shiloh Museum of Ozark History).



Lackey Produce House, East Mountain Street, circa 1900. Left to right, J. S. Lackey, Jim Quinn, and Alf Hutchens (Courtesy Shiloh Museum of Ozark History).

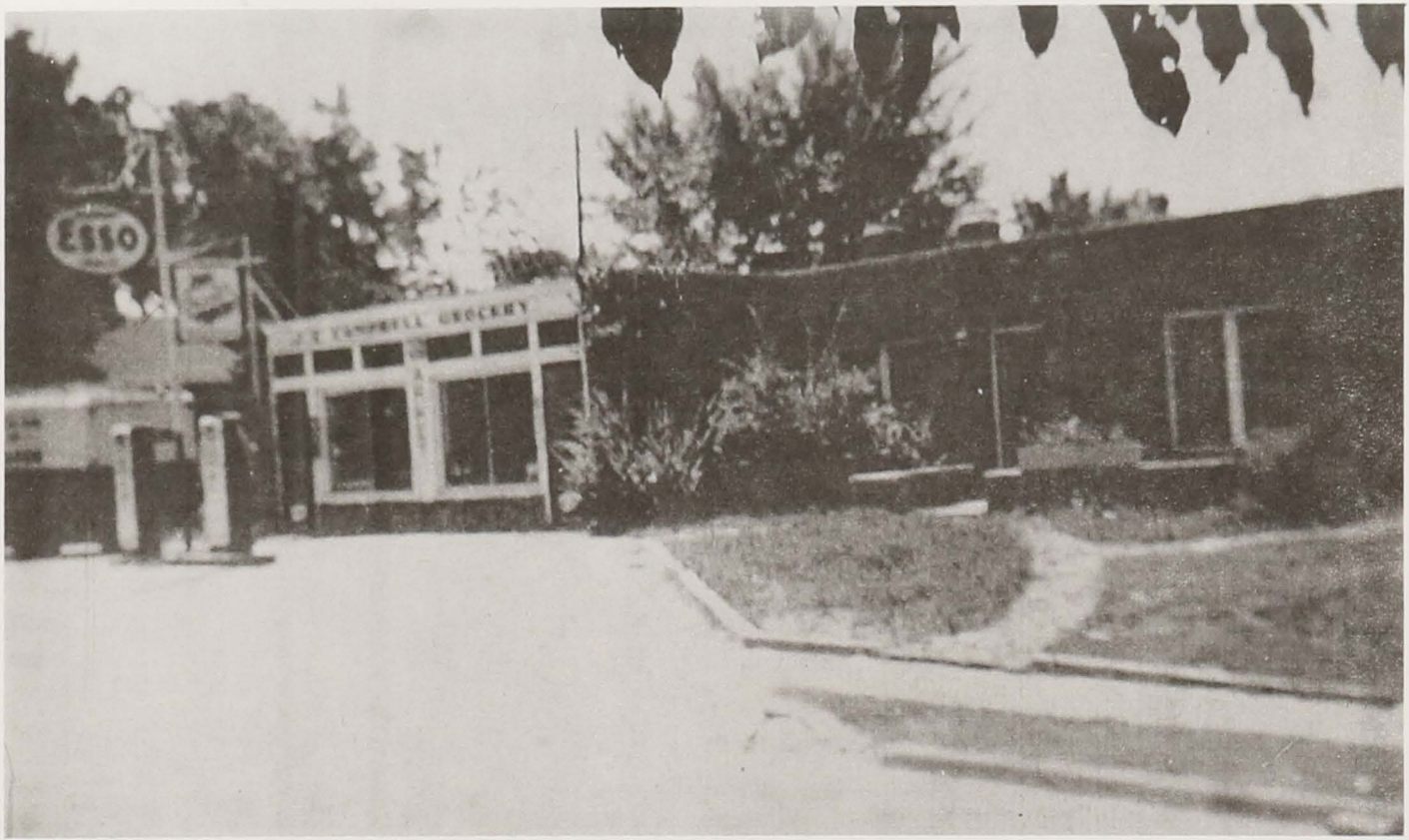
T. A. Hannah (on covered wagon) hauled flowers from Prairie Grove to stores and hotels in Fayetteville and supplies from Ozark Grocer Wholesale Company to groceries in Prairie Grove. A. Jordan is on the other wagon. Date of photo is between 1918 and 1920 (Courtesy Shiloh Museum of Ozark History).



By 1941 J. F. Winchester had operated Winchester's Market at 401 W. Dickson for about 25 years (Courtesy Shiloh Museum of Ozark History).

WEST ARKANSAS TIMES, Fayetteville, Arkansas
R-MARKET—No. 1—NEW AND ENLARGED
ENING FRIDAY-SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18-19
blic Cordially Invited
MANY VALUABLE AWARDS FREE
Susie Q and Sammy Boy
Want YOU to see our new Store
Says lots of room to browse around
Thinks our store the BEST in town!
Come!
Come!
Hot Coffee Served FREE ALL DAY SATURDAY
Campbell's
Salutes the Progress of
FAYETTEVILLE
Hot Coffee Served FREE ALL DAY SATURDAY
You Are Cordially Invited to Attend the Grand Opening of the New Campbell's Super Market Friday and Saturday
ad all 8 Pages for Fayetteville's Outstanding Food Values!

Announcement of the October 18–19, 1940 opening of Campbell's Super Market, *Northwest Arkansas Times* (Courtesy Jeannine Campbell Presley).



J. C. Campbell Grocery, 275 Huntsville Road, circa 1955 (Courtesy the author).

fifteen years earlier. At 408 W. Dickson, Supreme Food Market had taken over the old W. E. Dowell meat market location, another pre-1900 enterprise. Rouw Company flour and feed sales were located at 443 W. Dickson (now Walton Arts Center). Henry J. Dever operated a grocery at 352 N. West and Williams Produce Company was located at 410 W. Spring.

By 1939 Ruby alone handled operations of the Dickson Street Snappy Service Grocery and by 1947 groceries were no longer sold at that location. King's Market yielded its first location to Goff Brothers, where by 1955 Goff had opened Consumer's Market No. 2. Star Grocery became Pense's Grocery & Market by 1939, and then disappeared. Winchester's Market became Davidson's Food Store by 1947, and then disappeared. Supreme Food Market had become Kroger Grocery & Baking Company by 1939, but then it too disappeared. By 1955 Dickson Street was down to King's Food Market, the Goff Brothers' Consumers Market, and the venerable Bates Brothers Grocery, which closed during that year.

Zach Campbell's Leverett Street Store continued at that location through 1955, although by 1939 it was under the management of Herman Stubblefield. By 1947 Enos Cupps ran the store. Other 1935 competitors just one block north of Campbell included J. W. Murphy, who had started his grocery at 804 N. Leverett by 1920; subsequent owners at this location were Julius Lehman in 1947 and Tru-Val-U Food Market by 1955. At 810 N. Leverett, Richard A Jeffery also ran a grocery he had begun by 1920 (758 W. York) and expanded into 812 N. Leverett by 1955. Other competitors for the University trade north of campus included James F. Ladd, who had taken over the 1929 Golden Rule Grocery at 529 Whitham, and Mrs. Seth Pennock, who had continued her husband's 1929 establishment at 680 Storer (1112 W. York). Ralph W. Tapp had become the new proprietor at 541 N. Garland, a location first listed in the

1929–30 directory under the ownership of Thos. A. Matthews. Mr. Tapp would continue at this place at least through 1939.

In addition to his Leverett Street operation, Zach built a new store at 525 Mission in an area just north of established grocery businesses. He lived in an adjacent apartment with his wife, Sylvia (Davis). Since before 1920, when Joseph S. Holcomb purveyed his wares at 424 Mission, established Mission Street markets had included Gus F. Schwartz, who either moved or expanded to 440 N. Mission by 1939. The vicinity was evidently favorable. Bert Dorman had a grocery at 437 Mission in 1947 and Clawson's Grocery at 438 Mission helped supply the neighborhood in 1955, probably taking over the Schwartz enterprise (southeast corner Mission and Maple). One block west was the long successful grocery at the corner of Maple and Olive, first operated by R. L. Brown (1920), then as Graham Grocery and Market (1935–39), and then as Meistrell's Grocery (1955). The native stone building remains, occupied by an accounting firm. Mr. Brown took his grocery skills closer to town to build the Lafayette Grocery at 111 W. Lafayette, a place made famous in its robbery by Bonnie & Clyde's gang. Mr. Brown's red brick building was no longer a grocery by 1947, but remained in various use until it was demolished in 2003 by Central United Methodist Church.

A block north of Zach's fine new store on Mission, East Side Service Station sold groceries as early as 1929. It was taken over by Herman Stubblefield by 1935 and then closed. Zach and Sylvia also operated a café on the southeast corner of the Huntsville Square, but after his mother's death early in 1937 and Sylvia's death in the spring of 1938, Zach sold his holdings to his brother Evertt and moved to Los Angeles, California, where he died in 1958. Evertt took over at Zach's Mission Street Store for some time, but by 1947 the store had been sold to Earl A. Sherry. It was named Gray's Grocery by 1955, and Phillips Mission Street Grocery in 1961. Grocery operations ceased

sometime in the early 1980s. Today the remodeled building hosts an antique and home decor business.

One area that escaped the Campbell family's merchandising skills was the expansion of Fayetteville's growth to the north along College Avenue, where burgeoning population supported the New Park Grocery at 701 N. College by 1935. Named Park Cash Grocery in 1939, the establishment came under new ownership by 1955, then named Phillips Grocery, but did not survive to 1961 (probably the same Phillips as the Mission Street store). Located at the northwest corner of College and Rebecca, it may have been demolished as College Avenue was widened to accommodate increasingly heavy traffic along this section of north-south Highway 71. By 1955, Safeway Stores had built a state-of-the-art supermarket at 612 N. College (current site of adult products and video store), effectively sounding a death knell not only for the Phillips North College grocery but also for other smaller groceries to the north. In 1920 W. D. Pearson had been selling groceries at 808 N. College, a location under the ownership of Frank Wilkins by 1947. Circa 1939 Harry B. Milligan ran a grocery and meat market at 816 N. College but no further listings occur for this address. By 1927 grocery sales were underway at 900 N. College first as Menges Cash Grocery, then owned by Clayton M. Davis by 1935. Subsequent owners were Edwin D. Forbes by 1939 and Earl Land by 1947. The store remained under Land's ownership in 1955 as Land's Grocery. Today this building hosts a window tinting service. Other groceries clustered around this successful enterprise: Matthew I. Pearson at 912 N. College in 1929; J. W. Rowden at 901 N. College, 1935; Davis Grocery at 902 N. College, 1939. Dixie Cream Shop was briefly located along this stretch of highway (1951) as was Edw. I. Troeger's confectionery store at 700 N. College. While Safeway's new store was the nearest competitor to these smaller grocers, it was not alone. By 1961 a new IGA Thriftway Super Market had opened at 405 N. College

(current site of an auto parts store) and a new Fairway Store Inc. had opened in Fayetteville's first shopping center, Evelyn Hills, at 1304 N. College. Still farther north, at the southeast corner of College and Sycamore, Botts Speedway Foods Inc. had opened store #14 at 1680 N. College (recently demolished).

Growth came to the south as well, and this was the part of town where Campbell grocery business thrived. Evertt's first store at 108 W. Center did not long remain in his hands. He sold the location to Piggly Wiggly by 1939 and used the profits to expand his venture at 337 S. School, adding a motel/rooms-for-rent wing built of native stone. The October 18–19, 1940 Campbell's Super Market grand opening was featured in an eight-page special section of the *Northwest Arkansas Times*. Photographs of Evrett and Evalee bracket a photo of the new store front, while farther down the page are photos of the entire store personnel (thirteen men), of the new refrigerated meat counter, and of the modern-style grocery carts. Featured text mid-page illustrates the new world of grocery trade, now very different from the country store of Evertt's father where customers would expect to pick up mail, trade milk for flour, or purchase nails:

> Campbell's salutes the progress of Fayetteville. Campbell's hail the growth of Fayetteville, is proud to contribute its share toward bringing more of the fine things of life to the rapidly expanding population of this great community.
>
> As evidence of our faith we have now completed a vast new market which we honestly believe to be one of the finest food stores in the entire northwest of the state.
>
> This store is located for your greatest shopping convenience. It is planned and equipped in every way to make your marketing a pleasure.

> It is stocked-to-bursting with regular everyday necessities including famous nationally advertised brands, at everyday low prices. In addition, you will find here a rare collection of fancy packaged foods and fresh fruits and vegetables to meet the demands of the most discriminating tastes.
>
> You are cordially invited to attend the grand opening of the New Campbell's Super Market Friday and Saturday. Hot coffee served free all day Saturday.

The store continued through 1969 under Campbell's name even though Evertt died in a car wreck in 1956. The building is now occupied by a restaurant equipment supply company.

Evertt's South School grocery faced considerable neighborhood competition over the early years of his and Evalee's enthusiastic management. J. E. White's store at 400 S. School was sold to Charles W. Babcock by 1947. Across 6th Street to the south in the next block of School, J. B. Clark and Son continued their 1920 grocery operation (first at 420 S. School, then at 504 S. School) only to see the business become White's Grocery and Station by 1939. Other grocery competitors along this business stretch of Highway 71 were J. C. White in 1929 at 611 S. School, Mrs. R. B. Armstrong in 1935 at 602 S. School, and John O. Curry at 605 S. School in 1947. Johnson & Son opened a store at 727 S. School by 1955. Further south along this highway were John D. Gibbs (Greenland Road, 1939 listing); Perry Grocery & Market (S. Hwy 71, 1955 listing); Botts Speedway Foods Inc. (1169 S. School, 1961 listing); and Purdy's Food Store (S. Hwy 71, 1961 listing).

Evertt's store #3 at 39 E. South was operating only as late as the 1939 city directory, yet the building remains standing today. One block to the west a more successful grocery established before 1929 as Lollar Grocery (15 W. South) was

owned by Bill Williams by 1935 and operated as Williams & Williams Grocery in the 1939 directory, as Black & Son Grocery by 1955 and as Lancaster's Grocery in 1961 (now the location of a water filter business). For a brief time, appearing only in the 1939 directory, Fred J. Rouse sold groceries at 303 W. South.

Another cluster of groceries built up along South College Avenue going south from the Washington County Courthouse. First known in the area was Glenwood Grocery at 614 S. College (by 1929), then Kay Davidson's venture at 700 S. College by 1935 after Jefferson School took over the east side of the 600 block. At some point Evertt Campbell became the owner of this location; clearly he understood the site was well chosen. Subsequent management of grocery sales at this store through 1961 included Mrs. Jimmie Parker, listed in 1939, and Harlan G. Hanna in 1947 and up to 1970. College Street Grocery opened at 519 S. College in 1955 and became Johnson's Grocery in 1959. Johnson's Grocery remained open on weekday afternoons until 2004, offering a small line of groceries, candy, and tobacco. It is expected that with the planned move of Jefferson Elementary School away from this neighborhood, grocery business here has forever ceased.

Outlying groceries were hardest hit by the increasing use of faster transportation and the development of supermarkets downtown. Between 1935 and 1955 stores in the Fairgrounds Addition (area of Razorback Road and 6th Street intersection) changed hands and then closed. Similarly, small markets in the Quicktown area (Prairie St., Government St.) vanished; of the five or more locations which sold groceries in this area over the first half of the century, only Charles Dealy's produce market at 423 Prairie remained as late as 1961. Eli C. Mitchell's West Side Grocery at 142 S. Hill (northeast corner of Stone St.) ended operation by 1961. (The building was recently torn down to make way for a new apartment building parking lot, but the old steps remain.) Markets along Sixth Street fared somewhat better:

Charlie Jamison continued selling groceries along West 6th through 1961. Established in a log building as Wall Street Grocery by 1935, this building at 701 W. 6th has been torn down (southwest corner 6th and Hill). J. F. Cowan and Ward's Grocery also remained along 6th Street until after 1961. Farther to the south Oscar L. Harris continued the market at Vale and Cato Springs Road (demolished, now the site of Summercorn Foods) through 1961, and Kilgore Grocery continued to operate at 1540 Brooks Avenue until sometime in the 1960s.

Back at the Square, several locations persevered as grocery outlets for a number of decades until decentralization came fully into play by creating suburbs with their own shopping centers. While grocery trade throughout the 1800s seems to have been freely spread around the Square, by 1900 Mountain Street (south side of the Square) had become the "grocery row." There, the longest-term grocery was that at One West Mountain held by C. C. Conner in 1904, then by the Goff Brothers through the 1960s. The 1907 city directory names the Conner grocery men as C. C., T. J., and W. C. This building has been restored. The Sav-It Grocery on the east side of the Square in 1935 was probably the same site as A. W. Karbe Grocery and Chas. P. Macey (both at 15 S. East in 1939) but it is not known where this was in relationship to the McIlroy Building mentioned in 1880s' ads. All the structures facing the Square along East Avenue were demolished for the construction of First National Bank (now Bank of America).

Traveling west of the Square along Center Street, the 112–120 W. Center area progressed from A. C. Hamilton & Company produce in 1904; Smelser & Eason flour/feed stores in 1920; and Farmers Market and City Produce in 1935 and through 1961. This area was subsumed in the 1970s by the First Federal Building (now E. J. Ball Plaza). Bohe's Grocery remained along the south side of this stretch of Center Street from before 1935 until some time after 1947 (now parking).

On the east side of the Square along East Center, 8 East Center was continuously occupied in grocery trade from Fayetteville's early days, from Gilbreath & Taylor in 1904, Fuller's Sanitary Meat Market in 1920, then Fuller's Market, H. G. Ward, Ward's Market, and finally to Taylor's Grocery & Market in 1947. This entire section of Center Street is now occupied by the University of Arkansas Center for Continuing Education.

King's Food Market at 300 W. Dickson, then 216 W. Dickson, remained in continuous activity from before 1935 through 1955, when it was taken over by the Goff Brothers and became Consumers Market No. 2 by 1961. This is now part of the site of the Three Sisters building. Groceries were sold at 401 W. Dickson from before 1920 until after 1939 by J. F. Winchester. By 1947 it was named Davidson's Food Store. It is now the site of the Walton Arts Center rose garden.

By far the grocer with the greatest staying power along Dickson Street was Bates Brothers Grocery at the northeast corner of Dickson and West. In fact, Bates Brothers was Fayetteville's longest lived grocery in business at the same location and under the same name from the time it was opened by John Stephen Bates in 1897 until closing in 1955. The 1906 city directory names J. Steve and Joe R. Bates as the owner/operators. In 1912, when Steve went into business as the Mountain Top Fruit Farm, his younger brother Joseph Russell took over ownership of the store. Other brothers and members of the Bates family also worked in the store. After the grocery closed, the building at times housed an insurance company and a radio supply store. Through the late 1960s and into the 1980s, the Bates Brothers grocery buildings became a series of bars, most famously The Swingin' Door. By the late 1980s, the building sat vacant. In the early 1990s, the buildings at this location were extensively restored and remodeled to house Ozark Brewing Company, a micro-brewery and restaurant,

which closed in early summer 2004 and reopened that fall as Hog Haus Brewing Company.

Along West Avenue to the north of Dickson, Handy Grocery started at 352 N. West before 1929 and then moved to 651 W. Center, where it took over Mrs. Laura Stiles's operation and continued after 1939 as Andy Handy. Like Piggly Wiggly, Handy Andy was a nationally-advertised business name. It is not known if the local Andy Handy was affiliated or merely borrowed and juggled the words. (The West Center address is now the site of apartments and parking.) Coming in behind Handy Grocery at 352 N. West was Henry J. Dever, who was still selling groceries at this location in 1947. By 1955 the business was named Hobbs Grocery. The tiny building remains today, home to an architectural supply enterprise.

At the corner of School and Spring, or 322 W. Spring, Marshall Grocery was established by 1927 and remained in active grocery trade through 1947. Their advertisement in the 1927 directory: "We strive to please. Quality groceries—Service—Satisfaction. A clean store—a clean stock. Prompt service—a square deal." The 1939 directory ad: "We strive to please. Quality groceries. Fresh and cured meats. We deliver." In 1947, their ad simply states: "We strive to please." The building has remained in continuous service, for a while as home to a hardware store and then as a bicycle sales and service shop into the early twenty-first century.

North of the University campus, growth continued to push business districts outward. In addition to the cluster of food retailers on Leverett, groceries were sold at 529 Whitham from before 1929 until after 1961 (Burl M. Hankins, 1947; Mac's Grocery, 1955–57). This structure no longer exists, nor does the Storer St. location of Pennock's store.

To the west along Garland Avenue, Campus Food Store at 538 N. Garland lasted until after 1961, and Loren E. Vaughan ran his modest grocery store at 1023 W. Hughes from before

1939 until after 1961. The Vaughan building remains in use as a residence. Oak Plaza Shopping Center was built around 1970 and housed Dillon's, the first supermarket in this part of Fayetteville. Dillon's was supplanted in the early 1990s by Harp's at 1189 N. Garland. A grocery existed at 1001 N. Garland before 1935, when Loren Vaughan first entered the grocery scene in this part of town. After he moved to the Hughes Street address two blocks east, the 1001 N. Garland store was operated by Mrs. Kath Phillips (1939). Green Grocery served customers farther north at 1300 N. Garland (circa 1955), and then Shaddox Grocery occupied a storefront at 1305 N. Garland (circa 1961).

The longest surviving grocery man of John William's children was John Carl Campbell. After his early experience at the Rock Street Grocery (223 S. Mill circa 1935), J. C. built his own store at 275 Huntsville. Late in life he reminisced about excavating the basement for his store with a team of mules and an old car hood. J. C. Campbell's Grocery sold a wide array of goods: freshly butchered meats, local produce, tobacco, liquor and beer, and automobile service products including gasoline. In the same tradition as his father, J. C.'s store was a place that, in spite of Sunday liquor laws, a thirsty person with the right nod might find himself able to wet his throat on the Sabbath. He also ran accounts, providing a vitally important credit service to a portion of his clientele in "the holler" who might not otherwise have been able to buy food at all times of the month. J. C. Campbell Grocery remained in continuous operation through World War II when John Carl served in the Navy leaving his wife Opal to oversee employees and tend to the care of their six children.

John Carl had come to this neighborhood as a competitor to an established grocery concern just three blocks to the east. Finley & Johnson had set up their business at 507 Huntsville Road by 1935. Subsequently, William A. Combs took over

grocery sales at this location, and Combs Grocery continued at this site until some time between 1970 and 1975. In the 1950s, as this part of Fayetteville began to expand, two other groceries appeared on the scene: Ward's Grocery and Service Station at 611 Huntsville Road and Leonard's Food Store at 655 Huntsville. The early 1970s' opening of Watson's new supermarket farther east proved a difficult competitor (corner of Huntsville and Happy Hollow Road, now a prepared food products manufacturing operation). The old Combs Grocery building and grounds served later years of the twentieth century as a location for sales of secondhand goods and recycled construction materials.

J. C. Campbell sold his store in 1972, and for a few years it continued as a market under the name of Jim Land's Grocery. After a variety of uses through the 1980s, the property was renovated by its current owners as a water filter sales/service business location.

Evertt's biggest store, Campbell's Supermarket at 337 S. School, continued after his death under the management of Alton (Alfred) Dewey Morris. 1969 was the last year for Campbell's Supermarket. In 1972, after the sale of his Huntsville Road store and over fifty years of Campbell business in Fayetteville, John Carl was the last of the line when he retired from the grocery business.

During the later twentieth century, grocery markets continued to expand in size and stock variety while shrinking in number. In 1900 Fayetteville's grocers served on average 176 people per store. Patrons were no doubt well acquainted and took time to barter over prices and discuss local gossip and politics.

By 1950 the population was 17,071 and served by 37 stores (one store per 461 people). This trend escalated through the next decades: 1960 population was 20,274 served by 27 stores (one store per 750 people); 1970 population was 30,729 served by 28

stores (one store per 1,097 people); 1980 census was 36,165, with 27 groceries (one store per 1,339 people); and the 1990 census was 42,099, a population served by 31 stores (including gas and grocery convenience stores) at 1,358 people per store.

In 2005 only eight major grocery stores serve a Fayetteville population of 58,047 (one store per 7,256 people), assisted by a sprinkling of convenience stores and specialty groceries such as Ozark Natural Foods and ethnic food markets. In the downtown area, only the IGA Superstore remains (380 N. College) and is challenged steadily by customers who increasingly shop at the all-in-one retail outlets of Wal-Mart. To the east Harp's and a Wal-Mart Neighborhood Market provide groceries and more for households along Mission (Highway 45), Crossover Road (Highway 265), and old Huntsville Road (Highway 16 East). To the north a Harp's Grocery holds on at Fiesta Square (intersection of North College and Rolling Hills Drive), competing with another Wal-Mart operation at the Northwest Arkansas Mall. Serving the university community, the North Garland Harp's functions as a neighborhood grocer. To the west Wal-Mart's expansion to include groceries at their Highway 62 (West Sixth Street) store resulted in the closing of the Westgate IGA around 2001. Only in south Fayetteville does the Southgate IGA remain the primary grocery operation at its location on the corner of South School and 15th Street.

The grocery business today is a complex of advanced packaging technology, transportation networks, global markets, and high-volume competition. Corporations have taken over from individual proprietors to maintain ownership, decide management and employment, and manipulate stock and pricing for maximum profit. No longer a hands-on enterprise of personal grit and trading savvy, the piquant grocery business of early America—the business John William Campbell knew and taught his children—is a thing of the past. Flavorful remnants remain, however, preserved in open-air farmers' markets offering

homegrown produce and curbside vendors selling watermelons from the back of their pickup trucks.

SOURCES

Arkansas State Gazetteer and Business Directory, R. L. Polk and Company 1884–5; 1888–9; 1892–3; 1898–9; *Northwest Arkansas Merchandiser,* Sept. 8, 1976. Citing J. H. Van Hoose; Campbell, Denele Pitts, Campbell Family History (unpublished); Campbell's Supermarket newspaper clippings, personal collection of Evalee Campbell Presley; Carson, Gerald, *The Old Country Store*; Combs, David Dale, Campbell Family History (unpublished); *Fayetteville Weekly Democrat,* 1869–1890s grocery ads; *Fayetteville City Directory* business listings 1904–1930; *Fayetteville Classified Telephone Directory* 1925–1972; *Fayetteville Daily* 1904–1909 grocery ads; *Fayetteville Democrat* 1914–1919; *Northwest Arkansas Times*, July 28, 1993; *Morning News* Mar. 1, 1999, citing Kent R. Brown "A Timeless Epoch ... in Harmony with Ozark heritage;" Shiloh Museum vertical files "Fayetteville Businesses;" *South-West Independent*, Fayetteville, Arkansas, selected ads in 1850s editions.

AN ATTORNEY'S LETTER FOR THE TIME CAPSULE

W. W. "BILL" BASSETT

Editor's note: Attorney W. W. "Bill" Bassett and the Washington County Bar Association have graciously consented to publication of this personal history of the Bar Association prepared for the recent Washington County Courthouse Centennial celebration.

Today is Tuesday, May 3, 2005, and in accordance with the plans of the Centennial celebration of the Washington County Courthouse, this letter has been prepared in behalf of the Washington County Bar Association to be presented to Judge Mary Ann Gunn, who will include this letter, among many items, in the new Time Capsule that will be placed in the walls of the Old Courthouse at an appropriate ceremony on May 7, 2005. The new Time Capsule together with the old Time Capsule, which dates back to 1904, will then be sealed together in the courthouse walls. The plans are to have both the old and the new Time Capsule opened in another 50 years.

I have attempted in this letter to set forth events in which I either participated in or personally observed or which event was the subject of conversation by others. It is an honor to be asked by the Washington County Bar Association to present this letter in behalf of the Association and I hope that it covers at least part of the historical legacy and prestige that the attorneys comprising the Washington County Bar Association have enjoyed over the years.

I have no trouble in remembering when I was among the youngest members of the Washington County Bar Association. Now, I number among the oldest. As hard as it is to publicly admit, in 1949 within a few days after graduation from law school in Fayetteville, I was licensed by the Arkansas Supreme Court to practice law in Arkansas and I was also admitted to practice in the Eastern and Western Divisions of the United States District Court

for the Western District of Arkansas. Little did I know then that 13 years would pass before I finally mustered up enough courage to start practicing law. However, for most of those 13 years I lived in Fayetteville and worked in an occupation that kept me in close contact with a number of lawyers who were practicing law at that time. I spent an inordinate amount of time in Circuit and Chancery Courts listening to attorneys try their cases. I wasn't trying to imitate these lawyers as that was impossible, but I was trying to learn from them as I knew that some day I would practice law. Many of the attorneys then practicing law when I was still on the outside looking in were my friends and I would always pump them for stories about their cases and the practice itself. Did I learn something about lawyers, Judges and the law during my "watch and listen" sessions at the courthouse? I think so. While this activity on my part did not involve practicing law which for me came 13 years later, I know that my trips to the courthouse and listening to the trials being conducted by the Judges and the practicing attorneys of the day continued to whet my appetite to cast my hat in the ring and practice law, but the only problem was that I didn't seem to have a hat and there was no ring to toss it into, but again, that changed 13 years later.

My review of my personal notes, records and photographs reflects that in 1940 the Washington County Bar Association had 32 members. Ten years later following the end of World War II and the beginning of the Korean Conflict, the bar association in 1950 had grown to 41 members. Then a decade later in 1960, the association had a small increase to 45 members. I started the active practice of law on August 1, 1962, so 45 members of the association at the time that I started is pretty accurate. Then things changed. In 1970, the number of attorneys who comprised the Washington County Bar Association had more than doubled to 96, reflecting only the tip of the iceberg which would mark the beginning of the rapid growth in Fayetteville and Northwest Arkansas which changed not only our way of life forever, but the

way law was practiced in Washington County. By 1980, the association had 138 members and Fayetteville and Washington County continued to boom, and by 1990 the Washington County Bar Association totaled 220 members, a size most lawyers and Judges had a hard time accepting. I have been reliably informed that currently, in the year 2005, the Washington County Bar Association has approximately 350 dues-paying members. Keep in mind that 350 only reflects the number of Washington County lawyers who are actually members of the association, as there are conservatively over 600 licensed attorneys in Washington County, Arkansas, a great number of whom don't practice law now nor intend to do so in the future while others have not joined the Washington County Bar Association for one personal reason or another as membership in the association has always been a completely voluntary act on behalf of the individual lawyer.

After World War II ended, two lawyers returned to Fayetteville to resume their respective practices of law and their presence would hold forth and dominate the judicial system in Washington County. I refer to the Hon. Thomas F. Butt and the Hon. L. Maupin Cummings. At the time, Arkansas had separate courts of law and equity. Judge Cummings was quickly elected Circuit Judge. Judge Butt was soon elected Chancery Judge. These two Judges continued to serve in their respective capacities, having jurisdiction for years over Washington, Benton, Madison and Carroll Counties until the weight and size of new litigation broke off Washington and Madison Counties from the other two. There reached a time that Judge Cummings declined to stand for election again and stepped down and Judge Butt resigned from office due to poor health. In this time frame other Judges in Washington County served with honor and distinction, and I refer to the Hon. John Lineberger, Hon. Paul E. Jameson and Hon. Mahlon Gibson. In time, the law changed as it always seems to do. Separate courts of law and equity were abolished and law and equity courts were combined into one circuit court. Fortunately for the citizens of

Washington County, this did not change the excellence in judging which they had become accustomed to. Elected by the people to the six judgeships were men and women who comprise the Fourth Judicial District who fortunately for the good citizens of Washington County all comprise the three best qualities of a Judge, namely courage, legal intellectual skills and work ethic. These Judges are: Judge William A. Storey, Judge Kim M. Smith, Judge Mark Lindsay, Judge Michael H. Mashburn, Judge Mary Ann Gunn and Judge Stacey A. Zimmerman.

During the period 1946 through 1970, there were many members of the Washington County Bar Association who were truly outstanding lawyers. If I mention one lawyer by name, then I feel compelled to go ahead and mention 100 names, which would unnecessarily lengthen this already long letter. Except for the Judges, past and present, as well as certain individual lawyers who just happened to be involved in certain newsworthy cases, incidents or humorous events, other names will be omitted.

In the intervening years between 1946 and 1970, there were, of course, fewer lawyers in Washington County because the intensive growth in Fayetteville and Northwest Arkansas had not yet hit its peak. Thus, through the eyes of an "elder statesman", it is my impression that during that time the emphasis in judicial administration was more on the quality of justice as opposed to efficiency, speed and number of cases disposed of. True, the system was not really efficient, but it seemed to me as someone who had waited 13 years after law school to start practicing law, to be the greatest and fairest system ever achieved to reach justice, perhaps not hastily but quite dependably. It didn't take me long after starting my practice to emulate my fellow lawyers by undertaking the drudgery of trial preparation, digging for the law, scrambling for the law, chasing after witnesses, grinding and polishing each purported gem of cross examination, and trading hours of lonely tedium for each few minutes in the courtroom. However, at least at that time as opposed to now, if a lawyer truly

wanted to appear in court and defend criminal cases, he or she could do so. For many years, lawyers were appointed by the Circuit Judge to defend an indigent criminal defendant without fee. The conscientious lawyer who spent his own time and money preparing the case and then trying it of course usually lost, but then again his rewards and fee were the thanks by the family and friends of the accused for his efforts and he was never brought back before the Court and accused of offering an incompetent defense. In due course, the office of Public Defender was created and due to the complexities and vagaries of the criminal law, both procedurally and substantively, in modern time this office has become an absolute necessity in the criminal judicial system. However, one negative result is that many young lawyers in the association who thirst for the opportunity to go into court and actually try a jury case have all but been thwarted and now it is exceedingly rare for a lawyer, old or young, to actually try a case. Mediation or arbitration, whether agreed to by the parties or ordered by the Court, has become front and center, whereas the jury trial seems to have been set to one side as an antique whose time has come and gone.

In this time, 1946 – 1970, there were many solo practitioners. Some of them did not have, nor want, a secretary. A number of them typed their own pleadings. A lot of them served their opposing counsel with a copy of the pleading by hand delivering it to the office, thus getting exercise and saving postage at the same time. Every morning you would find a number of lawyers, including this writer, in the Circuit Clerk's office going through the pleadings that had been recently filed with the clerk. This certainly kept you current on what pleadings were being currently filed and also gave you an opportunity to peruse newly-filed complaints or petitions as one of the parties just might be a client you either represented, or wanted to represent. With the exception of one brief period of time involving hard feelings among some lawyers of the association, which soon passed, the camaraderie and

fellowship among the members of the Washington County Bar Association was good. The Washington County Bar Association created an auxiliary who assisted in the planning of parties and get-togethers which actually were a lot of fun. Another example of socializing among members of the association was the start of a noon-time "round table" luncheon frequented by Judges and lawyers. In fact, the lawyers and Judges pretty much squeezed out everyone else except the strong and indomitable as the jockeying and maneuvering of Judges and lawyers for positions to tell their stories or gossip simply became too much for most lay persons, who soon took up roost elsewhere. This informal luncheon gathering actually started on the "landing" of the old Ferguson cafeteria which at that time was attached to and a part of the old Mountain Inn Hotel. Always present was Roy Brumfield, owner of the hotel; Rex Perkins, a renowned and celebrated criminal and trial lawyer; Bill Putman, a lawyer and a legend almost from the beginning; Judge Thomas F. Butt with his glittering style, intellect and command of the English language; retired Fayetteville High School basketball coach, Glen Stokenberry, with his string of state championships; and for some reason, this writer. In looking back, I think that is because I seemed to have more time than all of the rest of these persons put together and could therefore at lunch get to the "landing" earlier than the rest of them and "hold seats" for everyone. Additionally, I was a good audience and could be counted upon to laugh uproariously at any story or anecdote told by any of the lawyers present, particularly the two Judges. In time, the Mountain Inn Hotel was expanded and a café was placed in the new part and the landing group moved to a round table in the new restaurant. There it continued to prosper, particularly when sports and athletics were added to the everyday topic of the courthouse (who was doing what to whom) and the law. In time, the round table moved first to Wyatt's Cafeteria on North College Avenue where everyone drove their cars out to attend the luncheon because if you didn't you would most assuredly rue the day as you would

be talked about, and thereafter the round table group moved back downtown to the Hoffbrau Café on Mountain Street, where it continues to this day.

This leads me to Judge Cummings' motion and docket-setting days. One would have had to have been there to appreciate it. Actually, many lawyers didn't appreciate it at all. They felt that it was a waste of time (which it was) and that their time could be better spent back in their offices "seeing clients". However, looking back at it now with the benefit of hindsight, I believe this event actually served a purpose. It brought almost all the lawyers together in one place at one time. That was Judge Cummings' courtroom, which is now occupied by Judge Gunn. The Judge made a valiant effort to call the docket, but everything soon bogged down and didn't go anywhere. In the meantime, lawyers were all over the courtroom, in all of the spare courtrooms, in the halls, on the stairs, on the courthouse steps, but they were working. The lawyers were agreeing on depositions, negotiating for settlements, settling petty grievances, referring law business to each other and doing all those other things that comprise the "practice of law". Lunch time would come and the lawyers would get together in groups of four or five and go eat someplace and return for the afternoon. Actually, a few cases did get set, some cases got settled and many cases got dismissed. Through all of this, how I don't know, Judge Cummings kept his demeanor and declined to throttle or simply whip lawyers who were engaged in what another Judge used to call "the children's hour". Consequently, although it may not have been the epitome of the use of judicial time and resources, Judge Cummings' docket and motion day accomplished a true purpose in keeping things moving.

A lot of funny things happened at Judge Cummings' motion and docket-setting day. I will tell you about only one. Judge Cummings had a courtroom deputy named Lloyd Stockburger. Lloyd was a nice and kind man with a nasal drawl and though small of stature was broken out with courage. For his time,

"Stockie", as he was called, handled prisoners by himself that would take several armed men today to handle. Looking back, he kept good order considering the circumstances. Anyway, mid-way through his docket and motion day it was Judge Cummings' habit to arraign prisoners. Stockburger would go to the county jail and would bring up the prisoners by himself with an old rusty pistol on his right hip and a slapper on his left and the prisoners would come in and approach the bench while some 50 or 60 lawyers milled around inside, some leaning against the Judge's bench and others sitting in the jury box. Lawyers were everywhere, and as usual, talking loud. One day, Stockburger brought up eight or ten men who appeared at first glance to be prisoners although admittedly better dressed than the usual lot. Judge Cummings was red in the face by this time of the day and probably worn out and sick of lawyers. Anyway, Stockburger reached over to try to tell Judge Cummings something but in the roar of the courtroom with all the lawyers gabbing he couldn't be heard and Judge Cummings' loud, booming voice suddenly broke out and said: "All right, Mr. Stockburger, line up these prisoners in front of the bench as I want to arraign them one by one." Stockburger tried to intercede again but the Judge was losing patience and he said: "Mr. Stockburger, go ahead and do what I say now because we're busy here and get these prisoners lined up." Finally, Stockburger's tremulous voice came out sort of loud although he was soft spoken and said "Judge, these ain't prisoners, they're law graduates who have come over here to have you swear them in." You should have been there to hear the laughter. The one who laughed the most was Judge Cummings. The prospective lawyers didn't laugh at all. They got their lawyer's oath from Judge Cummings and a nice little lecture at that and fled the premises, never to return.

As you might expect, the lawyers' pleadings filed in court were usually sort of messy. A lot of them had carbon paper smears on them and there was an awful lot of white Liquid Paper peppering many pages of the pleadings. Worse yet, there was no

copier. There was no fax machine. There were no computers or sorters. Oh, a local abstractor had a copy machine that was big as a small bedroom and it was quite an occasion to make even one copy, and if I remember, the copy cost several dollars. I know that my partners and I had to agree among ourselves before we would spend our dollars, or those of our client, to have just one photocopy made. Like most others, we relied upon carbon paper and all that entails. Compare this with your practice of law today in 2005.

The '70s moved quickly into the roaring '80s, at which time the law practice in Fayetteville really took off. For years, Fort Smith and Little Rock lawyers had whispered to their clients that they were bona fide "federal court lawyers" while the lawyers in Washington County weren't because there were no federal court facilities here in Fayetteville. Now, there had been a Fayetteville Division in existence for years and Federal Judge John E. Miller attempted to hold federal court a few times in Fayetteville in the '50s and borrowed Judge Butt's courtroom to do so but it just didn't work out. Consequently, Judge Miller signed an order automatically transferring all cases filed in federal court that by venue would otherwise belong to the Fayetteville Division to the Fort Smith Division, the reason being inadequate court facilities. Thus, all federal court cases which by law had venue in the Fayetteville Division should have been tried in the Fayetteville Division comprising Washington, Benton and Madison Counties but were transferred automatically to the Fort Smith Division. That meant that the Fayetteville lawyers and those members of the Washington County Bar Association who tried federal cases (and there were a number of them) had to drive to Fort Smith to do so. In those times, that meant driving down to court and probably spending the night, although that might depend on how long you spent at the Town Club after your day at trial before making the decision whether to return to Fayetteville on treacherous Highway 71 or spend the night in Fort Smith. We never really blamed the Fort Smith and Little Rock lawyers for their self-serving campaign

as they were good lawyers. Maybe we were just frustrated because we couldn't do anything about it for a long time. Well, spearheaded by the efforts of the Washington County Bar Association and bolstered by sympathetic congressmen and senators, together with the continued explosive growth in Fayetteville and Washington County, the Fayetteville Division finally became a reality in fact with a magnificent federal courtroom encompassed in the new Federal Building on Mountain Street. When that happened, all cases with venue established in the Fayetteville Division stayed there and were no longer automatically transferred to Fort Smith on the basis of inadequate courtroom facilities. Presiding over Fayetteville Division cases were the Hon. Paul X. Williams followed by Hon. H. Franklin Waters and currently Judge Jimm L. Hendren. The members of my generation were blessed with the opportunity to try cases before Judge Miller, Judge Williams, Judge Waters and Judge Hendren. I don't know what Fayetteville and Washington County did over the years to deserve the caliber of Judges, state and federal, to practice before but we have been truly blessed. As an aside, based on personal experience, what the lawyers of Washington County enjoyed and experienced with the high quality of their Judges was not always the case throughout Arkansas or the country.

I would like to digress a moment and tell you about a funny thing that I heard and observed at the courthouse a number of years ago. Again, being employed by a third party I had some spare time on my hands so I went over to the courthouse to see and hear some of a railroad case that was going on there. The Plaintiff was injured when a Frisco train hit his vehicle at a crossing. The injured Plaintiff was represented by attorney Bill Murphy of Fayetteville, a good and experienced trial lawyer of the day. The Defendant railroad and its crew were all represented by Fort Smith counsel, three in number whose names are unimportant but who were excellent trial lawyers particularly in the defense of the Frisco railroad as the Frisco had a real presence in Fayetteville and

Northwest Arkansas at that time. Somehow, the Plaintiff had defeated federal jurisdiction and retained state jurisdiction in the Circuit Court of Washington County, Arkansas. The case was in its second day of trial. Prior to the lunch break, Judge Cummings told the parties and witnesses to go on to lunch but to be back promptly at one o'clock. I hung around in the hallway next to the Judge's courtroom along with a lot of other people. Soon the hallway begin to fill with attorneys for both parties and witnesses, as well as many members of the jury, and they were all mixed together smoking, laughing and talking together as they waited for this trial to resume. Now what was going on was not all that uncommon in those days as that is the way things sometimes worked, but today the scene would assuredly alert the ever-watchful judiciary and probably result in a mistrial. Anyway, the train crew was late. They had appeared in court all "dressed up" in their overalls and starched white shirts looking as credible as a witness could be. Finally, the train crew made its way up the stairs adjacent to Judge Cummings' courtroom and at that point Mr. Murphy was hanging around the banister to the stairs watching the train crew come up and he looked first at the train crew and looked around at all of the persons who were milling around up there by him including members of the jury and then said in a loud voice directed to the train crew: "You guys are late. What did you do? Kill a cow on the way back here?" The scene erupted. The Fort Smith railroad lawyers, nattily attired in their three-piece vest outfits, screamed to high heaven and hollered for the Judge and the Court Reporter so that they could make their record. Thereafter, for about 45 minutes, the three railroad lawyers each took turns reading into the record their reasons for a mistrial based on prejudice because of the remark directed by Mr. Murphy to the train crew, particularly that crack about killing a cow on the way back to the courthouse, inferring the train crew was a crew who couldn't drive straight. Fort Smith counsel quoted the Rules of Procedure and Evidence; the State Constitution; the Federal Constitution; selections from the

Bible; portions of the Gettysburg Address and anything else they could think of in their impassioned plea to the Court to grant a mistrial and censor Mr. Murphy for his intemperate remarks in the presence of the jury. The Judge listened patiently to the outcries of the three-piece suited lawyers from Fort Smith and then in a measured tone, at least for him, said quietly: "The motion is overruled and your objections to the Court's ruling are duly noted. Let's get back to work." Is it any wonder then that the Fort Smith and Little Rock lawyers wanted to have all their cases in Federal Court in Fort Smith away from the cunning deviousness of Washington County lawyers? Not only had Washington County lawyers been given the opportunity to establish themselves as federal court practitioners, the insurance defense opened up for them. For years, the bulk of the then lucrative insurance defense practice had been jealously guarded by Fort Smith and Little Rock lawyers. There were some exceptions and several Washington County attorneys had begun to develop the insurance defense practice despite disadvantages, but soon 90% of this practice was going directly to lawyers in Washington County, who began increasing the size of their law firms accordingly. The insurance defense law practice is no longer as desirable as it once was, but nowadays the great majority of cases are defended by Washington County law firms as opposed to Little Rock and Fort Smith counsel.

As time continued to pass and we moved from the '80s into the '90s and thence into the 21st Century, the law practice everywhere, including Washington County, became beset with new technology. The copier, the color copier, the scanner, new dictaphones, the internet, websites, conference calls, fax machines, couriers, etc. Instead of listening to soothing music on the way to the courthouse to do some lawyering or even try a case, the typical lawyer now carefully monitored his e-mail messages and cell phone calls, becoming more stressed by the moment. Instant information is a boon and absolutely necessary to Washington

County lawyers in 2005, but at what price to the lawyers' mental and physical wellbeing? If in 2005 we are not careful how we deal with all of this speed and information, we are in danger of winning as lawyers but losing our souls as the quid pro quo. I continue to watch with amazement as younger lawyers go about their work. I worry about their futures and hope they can maintain balance in their lives.

Some of us in the association practiced both before and after the adoption of the Federal Rules of Discovery. Discovery practice changed everything. Until that time, depositions were almost never taken. Written interrogatories were few and far between as they were cumbersome and difficult to deal with and once filed the other side had an opportunity to not only answer them but to file cross-interrogatories and thereafter everything had to be signed and verified and filed in the case file in court and it was an extremely awkward and time-consuming procedure, with minimal good results. Consequently, those who were facing trials in either civil or chancery court resorted to "trial by ambush". In other words, one lawyer would say I'll get my witnesses and my law and you get your witnesses and your law and then if the Court makes me I'll tell you who my witnesses are gonna be but you won't have much time to talk to them before they testify and then we will go on from there. Many a time I met an adverse party's witness immediately before they testified and, if lucky, the Court let me talk to the witness during a break, usually out in the hallway outside the courtroom. One would think that the defendants would have the greatest advantage in trial by ambush because usually they had money to hire someone to go out and take a statement or contact a witness or run down some evidence of some kind. However, this was not necessarily the truth. There were members in the Washington County Bar Association, most all of them gone now, who were so persistent and so charming in their contacts with people that they could take a day or two out of their office and go visit with prospective witnesses and get them turned around to the

point that the witnesses were now "on their side" and then actually do what was necessary in the way of human relations to assure the presence of the witnesses at the trial. Admittedly, that type of lawyer was few and far between, but be assured that they were highly successful. A cynic might postulate that in an effort to reach "justice" and even up the sides and keep articulate and industrious lawyers from getting an edge, the Rules of Discovery were promulgated. After adoption of the discovery rules, and for at least six to eight years, the attorneys in the Washington County Bar Association and surrounding counties routinely took the depositions of each other's clients but that was all. If it was an automobile accident and you were defending, you might take the deposition of the injured plaintiff, the occupants of that car and the police officer. If a witness was listed on the police report, you might first try to talk to the witness. Failing there, you might try to depose that person but that was easier said than done. Depositions were supposed to be set by written notice. That's the way things started out and then attorneys realized that they had to cooperate with one another or they would step all over each other's prior appointments. Consequently, a spirit of cooperation in Washington County resulted and (in the beginning) wherever possible you telephoned your opposing attorney or attorneys or wrote a letter stating you wanted to take the deposition of a, b and c and that you could do it on these dates. This worked beautifully for a while and then, of course, as we gathered up more lawyers in Washington County and the law became more a business occupation than a profession or art, things changed in a big way. A few lawyers who are no longer with us in Washington County for one reason or another, made a steady practice of filing notice to take a deposition of your client or some other party which was usually scheduled at their office at an inconvenient time and if you didn't show up, that was too bad. Ill will sprung up. Accusations abounded. The race to be the arbitrary "S.O.B. litigator" was on, even in our beautiful Washington County. This "Rambo" litigation roared to a crescendo

as more new lawyers who had never tried a jury trial in their lives attempted to emulate the cold-hearted, badly misnamed, so-called litigators – not trial lawyers but litigators, which translated to discovery abuses, not actual courtroom work. Extreme offenders were identified early on and their number decreased and while the mean, hardball, S.O.B. litigator has never been widespread among members of our association, one bad offender can make one wonder why he went to law school.

Another phenomenon which has impacted and changed the practice of law is Advertising. Although widely used by members of the bar throughout the country, it is not without its critics. Since its inception, the various states through their legislatures or the supervising courts have placed certain limitations, restrictions and requirements on lawyer advertising. One only has to watch local television or take a look at the current telephone book to see the impact of lawyer advertising. Some members of the Washington County Bar Association have never advertised their legal services through the media and vow they will never do so. Other members have vowed they would never advertise but now do in fact advertise to some degree and extent. Many others would advertise, or advertise more extensively, if they had the resources. Many members of the association advertise a great deal and believe that it is an important and integral part of their law practice to do so. Advertising legal services is now firmly entrenched in the law practice in Arkansas and throughout America.

In the last analysis, every one of us has to work: you look at the world and decide where you fit in, or the world proceeds to fit you in. You make a guess, take a chance, like I and many members of the association did, and simply leap into the void. In simple words, take a deep breath and bet on yourself.

As lawyers, our concern is portraying that version of the facts most helpful to our client in the most persuasive light possible. While it is true this may sound unethical of lawyers, it really is not for we have been trained in the adversary system wherein we know

that our opponent will present the opposite picture so that the finders of fact, the Court and/or jury, will have two balancing versions of "the truth" from which to draw their conclusions as to what they think the ultimate truth really is. Those who have spent a lot of time in courtrooms can tell that the truth is never fully known to anyone and that our adversary system is simply the best system yet devised by man, where we recreate a past event, to get at the probabilities of what the ultimate truth really was. We don't deal in conjecture or speculation, but we deal every day in our conferences, telephone calls, counseling, depositions and actual trial work with the realm of probabilities. The cornerstone of evidence: what is probably more true than not.

The law remains a noble profession. Regardless of its critics, the American legal system is not antiquated or impotent but is instead a flexible, accessible means for righting wrongs. The future is still bright for a lawyer to practice his or her profession in Washington County, Arkansas, assuming that the lawyer has a reasonable degree of intellectual legal skills, a good and firm work ethic, a sense of right and wrong and fair play and the wherewithal to stay the course and persevere. I believe this describes the great majority of the Washington County Bar Association, presently and in the past.

As all members of the association know, the law is not static but is constantly changing. I have certainly seen that in my time. I believe that Washington County Bar Association lawyers who have made up the practice of law in Washington County, Arkansas over the years have led by example for change in a profession which doesn't welcome change easily, and for the most part have been progressive in matters of gender and race in the profession, although looking backward with the advantage of hindsight we probably could have done better but that is always true of any human endeavor.

I am proud to have been a member of the Washington County Bar Association. I am proud to have served once as its President.

I am delighted that my son also has served as President and that several members of my firm have done likewise. I believe, or certainly want to believe, that the great majority of members of the association firmly agree with the precept that a lawyer owes his client the best of himself, not the worse of himself.

I hope that in 50 years an audience of lawyers in Washington County, Arkansas who read this letter prepared in behalf of the current members of the association will have some sense and perspective as to what as lawyers we believed in, practiced and advocated, and that we represented our clients as nobly, courageously and intelligently as possible and that our profession as lawyers in Washington County, Arkansas has counted for something very valuable and precious.

I share the opinion of Hon. Harrison Tweed. I have a high opinion of lawyers. With all of their faults, they stack up well against those in every other occupation or profession, they are better to work with or play with or fight with or drink with than most other varieties of mankind. I particularly feel this way about all the lawyers, past and present, of the Washington County Bar Association.

Respectfully submitted,

W.W. "BILL" BASSETT
FOR THE ASSOCIATION

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Making charitable gifts during your lifetime can provide income, gift, and estate-tax savings, and making charitable gifts in your will can provide an estate-deduction for the value of that gift.

If you are making regular gifts to the Washington County Historical Society or would like to start, you may find it beneficial to set up or give:

1. **A charitable lead trust** that will pay income to WCHS for a set period.
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There are a number of ways to enhance your retirement plans while still providing for your charitable interests and making gifts you never dreamed possible. Consult with your financial advisor on other ways you can make charitable donations. These planned gifts will provide added tax benefits for you and your beneficiaries while helping to support the vital mission of the Washington County Historical Society for years to come.

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